

The Last Dying
S P E E C H
A N D
C O N F E S S I O N
Of the Late
P A R L I A M E N T;
M A D E O N
Saturday the 10th of March,
Before Their
E X E C U T I O N.

*Our Sen—te Members have done often Ill,
But they in doing it, the Laws fulfil;
Should Vulgar Criminals like These offend,
Their Lives at T——n they would justly End.*

L O N D O N:

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THE LAR BOOK

2 P E E C H

AND

CONFESSION

PARLIAMENTARY

AND THE HISTORY OF THE

EXERCISES

OF THE
LORDS OF THE
TREASURY
IN THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS
ON THE
11TH OF MAY 1791

BY
JAMES
MACKINTOSH
OF THE
BAR



The Last Dying

S P E E C H

AND

CONFESSIO

Of the Late

P A R I A M E N T, &c.



T is a Thing no less common than necessary, for all Malefactors, who make their unfortunate Exit at the Gallows, to publish to the World their last Dying Speeches: And as the Natural Body of Man is dead on the Dissolution of humane Nature; so is a political Body or Constitution of Men, said to be Dead, as to Power, when once the Means by which they were Instituted, interposes its Authority, and makes them to cease in their politick Transactions.

As this latter, we expect soon to be the Case of us the Septennial Parliament; and great Numbers of us, as Fame gives out, are very Meritorious of equal Sufferings with some of our Convicts of Capital Crimes; we think it may not be improper to make and publish our last Dying Speech and Confession, in a manner becoming us, which will ease us of a great deal of Care wherewith our Spirits are at this time oppress'd, and enable us to go into the several Counties of *England*, with the like Expectations of being well receiv'd, as a Criminal, who confesses at the Tree, expects to be sav'd in the other World.

We shall not consult the Ordinary of *Newgate* on this important Occasion, or the great *Paul Lorrain* his famous Predecessor; nor shall we need Precedents from the Records of *Tyburn* for what we have to say, since our Actions have been such as to be wholly unprecedented.

We have no Necessity to go into any Foreign Country to find out a Speech that may be proper, nor to recur to our own Journals of the Goal's Delivery within this Kingdom; for neither the great Robber *Cartouch* abroad, nor any of the Fraternities of our Thieves at Home, bred up in the Academy of Arts of *J - n W - l*, can equal our Atchievements, or so much as light a Candle to us their Superiors.

Since therefore we are thus qualified to make a Speech, and the World expects it from us, we shall do it in as concise a Method as the Nature of it will admit, considering our numerous Offences.

And first, We are to declare to the World, but with deep Concern, that we made a Law for Hanging the Rioters in *Salisbury Court*, that no one might presume to Riot but our selves. That no Body engag'd in the late Rebellion might remain unexecuted, we *Enacted*, That all the

the Rebels should be Tryed, how, and where, and by such kinds of Juries as should be thought most proper to work their Destruction. We then made a Law to Encourage the Tenants and Vassals of *Scotland* to take up Arms against their immediate Lords: And another to Indemnify those Persons from all manner of Prosecutions, who Imprison'd and Barbarously used their Neighbours and Friends, during the Rebellion.

We being desirous to have as little of the Royal-Presence as possibly might be, took off the Restraint, which oblig'd his Majesty to a Residence amongst us, to the very great Benefit of the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and of the Kingdom in general. Nor have we been less kind to our selves, for we early made a Law to continue our selves, for the Space of seven Years, and thereby saved a great deal of Trouble to the Electors of *Great Britain* in choosing a new Parliament.

We have been always Resolv'd to continue and choose our selves, in spite of all Opposition, assisted by our Friends to the good old Cause, the Soldiers of *Britain*, many of whom are under our Command; and 'tis a very great Favour to the People, deserving their Acknowledgements, that we did not vouchsafe to make our selves perpetual.

To empower his Majesty to preside over a set of public Plunderers, we pass'd a Law to enable him to be Governor of the *South-Sea* Company. We righteously Repeal'd a Law against *Schism*, and for securing the Church, (for what has the Church to do with the State) and Exempted all Officers, Civil and Military, from going to the Church, and receiving the Sacraments. And we exempted the holy People, call'd *Quakers*, from having any thing to do with God Almighty.

We made a Law to vest Forfeited Estates in certain Commissioners, to pay them for their Trouble, and for certain
Uses.

Uses. We pass'd a Statute to Ruin the Kingdom, by a *South-Sea Scheme*, and afterwards, lest Justice should take place, we prudently made a Law to Indemnify our selves.

The Directors of the *South-Sea Company*, we most graciously made Allowances for their great Services in Robbing the Publick of their Money: And, fearing our Goals would not be sufficient to contain the Number of Debtors in this Kingdom, we order'd others to be made, that they might not be destitute of comfortable Habitations for Life: And those that were not Debtors, but had some Money left, we provided with Barracks, that we might have the fairer opportunity of getting into Possession of their Houses and Palaces.

We encourag'd Bubbles, Cheats, and Pick-pockets, with whom we daily convers'd, and doubting others might grow wealthy besides us, and the Directors, we made a Law for the prevention of Cheats by any but our selves; and gave our selves every where a Power unlimited to Cheat and Defraud our innocent Fellow-Subjects.

We restor'd Publick Credit, by sinking of the Stock from three Hundred to one Hundred, after we had sold out; that we might buy in again. We drew in the Subscribers of Annuities into their Subscriptions, and afterwards obliged them to accept of a third Part of their Estates: And, lest they should be so very presumptuous as to contest at Law illegal Contracts, and the greatest Imposition that ever was known, we then made a Law to debar them from the benefit of all Law whatsoever.

So kind have we been to the gentle Annuitants, who Lent their Money for the Service of the Government, in the worst of Times: We have ruin'd and undone them to all Intents and Purposes; but this was necessary to quiet the Company.

We

We made Laws for Transportation of Offenders for Stealing of our Game; and, out of our abundant Compassion to our Fellow-Labourers, we have made others acquit to Robbers of the Publick; these last were to escape, and the Innocent to suffer. 'Tis by our means alone that an Army of Persons, of all Ranks and Degrees, have murder'd themselves: The Rope, the Knife, the Poniard, and the poison'd Draught, have been all of them us'd as the kind Instruments to give a Period to those Miseries we have brought upon the People.

We have Naturaliz'd large Troops of Foreigners, to eat up our Bread; and as we are much obliged to these, I here give you their Names. The List runs thus: *Henry Cornelisen, Frederick Gulicker, Gerard Roeters, Erengard Melosine, (Baroness of Schulenburg) Isaac Kuyckvan Microp, John Jacob Heldt, Theodore Van Rheden, Peter Rose, Martin Luidolph, Ulrick Jansen, John Ludolph Spellerbourg, John Spieker, Laurence Gundeloah, Peter Sejourne, Samuel Dufresnay, Peter Lucas, Ludowick Christian Sprogell, Peter Lamy de Hame, Charlotte Whetstone, Mary Sophia Charlotte, Viscountess Howe, Gerrard Van Neck, Benmet Erasmus Hopser, John Backer, George Kruger, Samuel Gampert, Cornelius Backer, Henry de Putter, Francis Van Hemert, John Van Hemert, Frederick Morgan, Henry Nicholas Sander, John Henry Grutzman, Philip Germain, George Hollmans, John Robethon, George Robethon, Joachim Peterssen, Henry Muilman, Benedict Corp, John Henry Ott, Isabella Countess of Denbigh, John Harcup, Gilbert de Flines, Christian Frederick Zincke, James Masse, Jacob Stolck, John de Neuville, John Frederick Jales, Christopher Schele, James Giradot, Paul Ansink, John Blydersteyn, cum multis aliis, who have been brought into this Kingdom, and generously provided for.*

We have, thro' our natural Vigilance and Indulgence, suffer'd Foreigners to build Ships of Force in this Kingdom, to Fight us at Sea; and for fear we should not be beaten, we have made no Law to prevent its Continuance. We likewise

likewise brought in a Bill for the Building of a Bridge over *Lambeth-Ferry*, to Drown all *Westrminster*, and destroy the flourishing City of *London*.

We have Rejected the Petitions of the Subject; because they were Just, and not to be answer'd without doing them Justice: We have, many of us, disappear'd, when the most important Affairs have been transacted in the House; we have always accepted of Bribes and Pensions, and been faithful only to Treachery and Destruction.

We have been a Long Parliament, but we have taken short Courses with the People: And as we were made by the freeft of Bribery, so we have industriously freed the People of *Great-Britain* from the Burthen of their Privileges.

All the Miscarriages of former Reigns, we have to the utmost improv'd; we have spar'd no Pains on this Account. The Difficulties attending the Publick Affairs, we have increas'd as much as in us lie, and as much as any Set of Men could possibly have done.

The Debts of the Nation we have largely augmented; and the Peace and Happiness of our Fellow-Subjects we having very much at Heart; we have kindly taken from them what's the Root of all Evil, their Money.

In short, we have so well answer'd all the Purposes of His Majesty's Proclamation, for calling us his Parliament, that there is not any one Thing therein recommended, we have not dutifully oppos'd. And all this has been done for the Good of his People.

These are some of the Offences, of which we have been Guilty; and we appeal to the famous *J----- n W----- ld*, and his splendid Retinue, whether we have not acted like Men of true Courage, in a Cause so Glorious, as the Ruin

of our Country. We have follow'd in his Steps in every Thing but the bringing to Justice of our Brother Malefactors, and on this Account, Preference is due to him; but in all other Respects, the World will confess we are very much Superiour to this Honourable Person.

By this Catalogue of Crimes, it appears, that our *Hinds*, our *Cartouches*, and our *Wilds*, are all but petty Criminals to us: We have given them Examples and Encouragement to go on and prosper in this righteous Age; may they prosper like us for a Time, and like us Expire!

We have always labour'd indefatigably to alter the Ancient Constitution of this Kingdom; to overturn its Laws, and Destroy the Rights and Liberties of the Subject. What we have done will be remember'd by Posterity; and convince Mankind that no Prince can be more Arbitrary to the People, than a once *British* Parliament.

We have been the *Alpha* and *Omega* of Liberty and Property; we have gone thro' them both, and generously dispos'd of all People's Money. The Game has been our own; we have play'd it successfully, and we defy the Sharps of the Gaming Tables of *Covent-Garden*, to equal us at shuffling and casting the Dye.

But notwithstanding all these particular Confessions, we have Reasons to offer for our extraordinary Conduct, we hope sufficient to entitle us to Forgiveness: Tho' as hitherto we have had no Concern with God, we shall not, in our last Extremity, have any Recourse to him; but leave him to use us, with our Friend Mr. *Toland*, as he shall Judge most proper, for the great Services we have done in the Cause of Religion.

We hope, Gentlemen, as we have hang'd some of you for Rioting, that you will be graciously pleas'd not to Return us this Favour. It is enough that we should politically Die, and that a natural Death should be only yours.

If you have been Tried out of your Countres, and some of you, who have been Innocent, have suffer'd by a Law of our Making, you must consider it was necessary. It was convenient that some should be taken off, as a Terror to others; and prevent, for the future, Riots and Rebellions: And if we were in the like manner to suffer, it would not be thro' any Innocence of ours; so that this could not possibly be a just Return upon us, for our Services on this Head.

Tho' we Encourag'd the Slaves and Vassals of *North-Britain*, to Rebel against their Lords, we are not for Com-motions of any other Kind; nor did we ever Design that these should use Violence, with any other View, than that we might share with them in the Plunder of their Coun-try.

If we have Indemnified many of you from vexatious Suits and Prosecutions, for your Imprisoning and Tormenting your Friends and Neighbours, we hope you'll indemnify us; at least, that you'll prevent the Use of the Hempen Tye; for tho' it be a certain never-failing Cure for a Quinsey in the Throat, and many of us want a Cure, we do not by any Means approve of the Remedy.

As we have exempted you from going to the Church, we hope you'll excuse us from going to the Gallows: And notwithstanding we have eas'd you of your Money, put you into Goals, and ruin'd you All, we have very good Reason to expect to be forgiven. These have been necessary to
humble

(II)

humble your Pride, and subdue that rebellious Spirit, which has oftentimes shewn it self terrible to the whole World.

Indeed we have deceived and defrauded every Body; but what could be otherways expected from us? Did not you accept of our Money to Elect us your Representatives? and could you reasonably expect that we would not take Bribes, on all Opportunities, to pay our selves, and that we would not sell our Voices in the Senate, as you did your Votes in your Places of Election.

If we have rejected your Petitions, did not you deserve it? Had you any Right to Redress from us, when you had once sold your selves? No! the Answer is, no! And we wonder at your Stupidity, that you should presume to offer any thing of this Nature. It was our Duty and Interest to oppose you: And could any of you think that our own dear Interest was not more to us than your Prosperity?

If many of you have laid violent Hands on your own Bodies, did not you deserve it for your Folly? If we have Naturaliz'd Foreigners to feed upon you, it was no more than was necessary: You were growing too Fat and Luxurious, which being attended with Pains and Infirmities, we timely interpos'd and prevented the Consequences.

If we have transported some of you, for interrupting our Diversions, what is it but Justice? Have you any Pretensions to Pleasures and Diversions, when we have your Money and your Estates?

If we have depriv'd you of the Benefit of the Law, what Right have you to Law, when you have sold your Liberties? And tho' we have very much encourag'd Cheats and Pick-pockets, could you hope for any Favour at our Hands, without being equally qualified as Cheats and Pick-pockets? This would be egregious Stupidity!

Thus

Thus much may be said in Behalf of us, and in our Justification : We hope therefore the latter part of this our Speech, being in our Defence, will be accepted as a Plea in all Courts of Record within the Kingdom of *England*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, whereto we may be call'd, to hold up our Hands at any other Bar ; and that we shall not suffer any other Death for the Crimes we have been Guilty of, but what is intended by Royal Proclamation.

F I N I S.

